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The importance of virginity
is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kindred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own generation with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is expressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinching. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke. In this context teasing is a social convention which permits a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the only female company of his own age that he is permitted to enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and trust to uphold.

605 834 [582] 605 835 [583]

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this community true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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612 578 539 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 474 578 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the [685] basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

● 835 612 605 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of deception that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over 835 605 558 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεπού).

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care.

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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828 771 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 787 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 831 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of [287] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 596 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relationships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers [287] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal [833] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 783 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil